## Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /031 W

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FM AMEMBASSY TANANARIVE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6131

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**EXDIS** 

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EAID, MA, US

SUBJ: INFLUENCING MALAGASY FOREIGN MINISTER RATSIRAKA

REF: TANANARIVE 0420

FOR UNDER SECRETARY SISCO AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY EASUM

BEGIN SUMMAR: UNLESS WE PREPARED ACT FAST, FONMIN RATSIRAKA LIKELY BE ALIENATED VIS-A-VIS US BY IMPOSITION ON HIM OF GEN RAMANANTSOA'S DECISION EXTEND NASA STATION AT OUR REQUEST. SUCH ALIENATION WOULD HAVE SERIOUSLY ADVERSE EFFECT ON RANGE OF IMPORTANT ISSUES OF INTEREST TO US RE WHICH POWER OF DECISION IN MOST CASES RESTS WITH RATSIRAKA. GIVEN PRINCIPAL FACTORS MOTIVATING RATSIRAKA'S POLICIES AND ACTIONS, I BELIEVE BEST MEANS OF TRYING BRING HIM AROUND WOULD BE BY AUTHORIZING ME TO CONVEY TO HIM US READINESS CONSIDER ASSISTANCE PROJECT FOR MADAGASCAR FOR FY75. SINCE RATSIRAKA MAY BE SUMMONED BACK AS EARLY AS THIS WEEKEND TO BE INFORMED OF RAMANANTSOA'S DECISION AND MAY REMAIN IN MADAGASCAR SHORT TIME ONLY, TIME IS OF ESSENCE IN ACTION I AM PROPOSING. WOULD APPRECIATE ANY APPROPRIATE ASSISTANCE YOU CAN RENDER TO SPECIFIC PROPOSAL I AM SENDING TO AID ADMINISTRATOR PARKER. END SUMMARY.

1. WE EXTREMELY PLEASED WE HAVE GOT WHAT US SOUGHT WITH RESPECT TO THREE-YEAR EXTENSION OF NASA STATION. AS YOU KNOW FROM REF-TEL, WE WERE ABLE TO GET FAVORABLE GOMR DECISION ONLY BY GOING AROUND FONMIN RATSIRAKA AND WORKING THROUGH GEN ANDRIAMAHAZO SECRET

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WHO OBTAINED DECISION FROM HEAD OF GOVT GEN RAMANANTSOA. RAMA-

## NANTSOA WILL NOW IMPOSE THIS DECISION ON RATSIRAKA.

- 2. THIS ACHIEVEMENT WILL EXACT ITS PRICE IN TERMS OF PROBABLE ALIENATION OF RATSIRAKA FROM US UNLESS WE PREPARED ACT FAST TO BRING HIM BACK TOWARD MORE FAVORABLE DISPOSITION.
- 3. SEEMS TO ME ESSENTIAL WE MAKE STRONG EFFORT DO SO AS RAT-SIRAKA REMAINS VERY IMPORTANT TO US INTERESTS IN MALAGASY SHCEME OF THINGS. MEANS OF OBTAINING DECISION ON NASA STATION EXTEN-SION BY RESORT TO HEAD OF GOVT IS ABNORMAL AND CAN SCARCELY BE REPEATED. AS IN PAST, IT WILL USUALLY BE RATSIRAKA WHO MAKES MALAGASY DECISIONS ON MATTERS OF INTEREST TO USG. FOR EXAM-PLE, THERE APPEAR BE SEVERAL ISSUES AHEAD IN WHICH HIS ROLE WILL BE IMPORTANT AND USUALLY PRIMORDIAL:
- (A) WITH GROWING US INTEREST IN INDIAN OCEAN, I ASSUME WE WANT MADAGASCAR TO MAINTAIN AT LEAST A BALANCED POSITION ON DIEGO GARCIA AND SOVIET NAVAL OPERATIONS, AND NOT MOVE TOWARD CLEARLY ONE-SIDED TYPE OF APPROACH ADOPTED BY INDIA. THIS DECISION LIKELY TO BE RATSIRAKA'S.
- (B) AT SOME POINT, I SUPPOSE WE SHALL WANT TO TRY GET GOMR AGREE TO RESUMPTION US NAVAL SHIP VISITS TO MALAGASY PORTS. PAST EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN RATSIRAKA ROLE DECISIVE HERE.
- (C) STATE 062535 HAS ASKED US SEEK GOMR SUPPORT ON KHMER AND PRG ISSUES IN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS. WHILE I CAN OFFER NO HOPE WITH RESPECT TO GOMR ON KHMER ISSUE, I AM PREPARED TRY AT RIGHT MOMENT ON PRG ISSUE, BUT RATSIRAKA WILL MAKE DECISION.
- (D) HE PLAYS KEY ROLE WITHIN GOMR ON LAW OF SEA ISSUES.
- (E) ON ACCESS TO MALAGASY RAW MATERIALS, WHICH OF GROWING INTEREST TO US FIRMS, RATSIRAKA ALSO LIKELY EXERT IMPORTANT INFLUENCE.
- 4. MOREOVER, AS WE LOOK FURTHER DOWN ROAD, RATSIRAKA IS ONE OF THREE MOST LIKELY SUCCESSORS TO RAMANANTSOA AS HEAD OF GOVT. THUS WHEN NASA STATION AGREEMENT COMES UP FOR FURTHER RENEWAL AT END 1976, HE MAY BE IN FINAL POSITION OF AUTHORITY.
- 5. HOW CAN WE BRING RATSIRAKA AROUND TOWARD MORE FAVORABLE DIS-POSITION TOWARD US? HE IS MOTIVATED MAINLY BY TWO FACTORS: (A) GETTING MAXIMUM OUT OF FOREIGN COUNTRIES FOR MADAGASCAR (CONSISTENT WITH MALAGASY INDEPENDENCE AND NEUTRALITY) AND SECRET

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- (B) BUILDING FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF HIS PERSONAL POLITICAL AMBITIONS (TO WHICH FIRST FACTOR IS, OF COURSE, STRONGLY LINKED). WE KNOW HE DISAPPOINTED AT NOT GETTING LARGE NUMBER OF US SCHOLARSHIPS FOR MALAGASY WHEN HE VISITED US IN SUMMER OF 73. HE ALSO FEELS PRC HAS BEEN MORE RESPONSIVE TO URGENT MALAGASY RICE NEEDS OVER PAST YEAR THAN USG.
- 6. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, AID IS CHEF TOOL AVAILABLE TO

US TO INFLUENCE RATSIRAKA FAVORABLY. AS I INDICATED TO YOUR PREDECESSORS DURING CONSULTATIONS IN WAS IN DEC, US INTERESTS IN MADAGASCAR ARE BEST PROMOTED BY ABOUT ONE GOOD-SIZED AID PROJECT PER YEAR. RECENT DEVELOPMENTS DESCRIBED ABOVE HAVE, OF COURSE, FURTHER CONFIRMED ME IN THIS VIEW. I AM THEREFORE SENDING AN FY-75 AID PROPOSAL TO AID ADMINISTRATOR PARKER AND ASSISTANT ADMINISTRATOR ADAMS BY SEPTEL. PLEASE MAKE THIS CABLE AVAILABLE TO THEM IN EXPLANATION OF MY REQUEST.

7. IF YOU AGREE WITH ABOVE REASONING ABOUT IMPORTANCE OF MADAGASCAR TO US INTERESTS, I HOPE YOU WILL GIVE FY-75 AID PROPOSAL WHATEVER SUPPORT YOU APPROPRIATELY CAN. SINCE RATSIRAKA MAY BE BACK IN TANANARIVE AS EARLY AS COMING WEEKEND AND STAY ONLY SHORT TIME, IT WOULD BE BEST IF I COULD GET TO HIM AT THAT TIME SO THAT HE DOES NOT HAVE LONG PERIOD TO BROOD AND BUILD UP RESENTMENT AGAINS US. THUS, WASH AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE BY THIS WEEKEND TO CONSIDERATION OF ASSISTANCE PROJECT FOR MADAGASCAR FOR FY-75 UP TO A SPECIFIED AMOUNT WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL TO ME, AND I HOPE FEASIBLE FROM WASHINGTON'S STANDPOINT.

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To: STATE

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